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Jeffry A. Owens

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## PLACELESSNESS AND THE RATIONALE FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION: NATIONAL CONTEXTS AND EAST TEXAS EXAMPLES

By Jeffrey A. Owens

The spellchecker on my computer does not recognize “placelessness” as a word, and it is not in the unabridged dictionary. However, an internet search pulled 2,000 hits for the term, and the meaning is readily comprehended. “Placelessness” is a mental response to a generic environment. It can mean disorientation, caused by the disappearance of landmarks, or alienation, resulting from peoples’ dislike of their surroundings. It describes a place without heritage, one that lacks identity or is artificial and meaningless. Edward Relph coined the term in 1976 in *Place and Placelessness*, a study of environmental philosophy. That same year, Yi-Fu Tuan, a geographer, founded the discipline of Human (i.e. “Psycho”) Geography by publishing *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Tuan explored how people feel about the “where” they inhabit; how they become attached to homes, neighborhoods, and nations; and how these feelings overlap into myth or the experience of the sacred. Other books followed, like *Cosmos and Hearth*, *The Necessity for Ruins*, *The Poetics of Space*, and *Postmodern Geographics*. Authors applied Placelessness to fields as diverse as theology, psychology, anthropology, literature, and theater. Concerns about Placelessness also attached themselves to historic preservation. For example, in 1999, William Leach published *Country of Exiles: The Destruction of Place in American Life*. Leach depicted “a vast landscape of the temporary” in which fungible executives, itinerant managers, cross-trained employees, and hourly workers float through the landscape like disembodied phantoms. Most want continuity and stability, but the realities of the mass-culture economy make that increasingly difficult to attain. Meanwhile, towns and cities grow ever more generic, sporting the same corporate logos in every business district and the same housing in every neighborhood. What remains to distinguish one place from another?<sup>1</sup>

Of course, worries about the obliteration of American landmarks pre-date the discovery of “placelessness” as an intellectual phenomenon. This article discusses the merits of historic preservation and identifies several restoration categories. Nationally known prototypes will be presented, then the emphasis will be on East Texas. Our region has great resources for preservation, but its people lack vision. Many East Texans seldom travel to places where historic preservation is practiced, so they discount the potential of the built environment. This article’s focus on the achievements of East Texas preservationists is intended to stimulate a greater awareness of what could be accomplished “right here!”

Placeless Geography, according to Ingolf Vogeler, occurs when “buildings that are something are being replaced by nothing.” Vogeler defines some-

thing buildings as those that are “distinctive, unrepeatable, and rooted in time and place.” The idea that some buildings are more meaningful than others, due to their age, style, or method of construction, is fundamental to preservationists. Paul Fussell, in a book called *Class*, argued that the American middle class suffers from “rootlessness,” moving at the beck and call of corporations, constantly fearing the loss of jobs and familiar environments. Old houses and antiques, or at least tasteful imitations, lend an air of permanence. The prosperous but rootless, living with instability, seek permanence through symbols of the past.<sup>2</sup>

James Kunstler, in *The Geography of Nowhere*, veers into actual hatred for the placeless landscape. Kunstler decries an America of “highway strips, parking lots, housing tracts, mega-malls, junked cities, and ravaged countryside.” He fears that “a land full of places that are not worth caring about, will soon be a nation and a way of life that is not worth defending.” John Brinckerhoff Jackson, a Harvard and Berkeley professor, the so-called “godfather of American landscape studies,” makes no ethical judgments about contemporary landscapes. Instead, he argues that the modern urban environment is not about place and permanence but rather about time and movement. Jackson celebrates the same highways, mobile homes, parking lots, and malls that Kunstler despises. In fact, Jackson’s *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* dispassionately examines the evolution of housing in New Mexico from adobe village to trailer park. “Form just follows function.” But preservationists cannot agree.<sup>3</sup>

Obviously, no consensus as to the need for historic preservation exists. Certainly the repair of derelict properties has quantifiable, positive side effects, but is the restoration of certain buildings – due to their age, style, and associations—equivalent to moral good and civic virtue? Rabid preservationists believe that saving buildings equates to saving souls, and that society reverts to barbarism without reminders of the past. Few would argue with the right of persons to spend their money as they wish. Controversy arises when some members of society insist that preservation is good for everyone and that everyone, therefore, should pay for it. Historic preservation then becomes a matter of public debate.

What is historic preservation supposed to accomplish? What is the Rationale for Preservation? Its proponents cite many benefits. For example, the enduring qualities of old buildings recall virtues like craftsmanship and durability, the intelligent use of now-unobtainable materials. Beyond that, preservation adds scenic diversity. It reminds us that generations other than our own have built things that they hoped would last. Many believe that old buildings recall values that made our country great. Preservation adds interest, beauty, and romance to our lives. Saving unique places promotes heritage tourism and builds communities of interest among people with common goals and values.

On a more tangible level, preservation adds value to a city’s tax base. Vacant lots are mowed, properties repaired, and vandalism reduced. Preserva-

tion rejuvenates commercial areas and raises resale values. It reduces urban sprawl, because we learn to value what exists rather than to abandon it or tear it down. Preservation leads to property appreciation, while new construction (especially the shoddy, disposable variety) leads to urban blight and (often rapid) depreciation. The findings of an impact study from Richmond, Virginia, demonstrated that in a four-year period, renovations along one historic street added \$28 million to the city tax rolls. The value of the restored properties rose forty-one percent, compared to a twenty-three percent increase for new construction. The assessed value of the renovated historic properties equaled that of all other buildings in the ten-block area. Preservation pays! It stimulates business for a host of industries and allows people of limited means to acquire distinctive, affordable homes. It even helps the poor and elderly by making older neighborhoods safer. Many people find psychological fulfillment in caring for a piece of history. The restored building becomes something that they share with others.<sup>4</sup>

An examination of what preservationists have saved over the years reveals that restorers frequently have different motives and strategies. The kinds of properties restored, and the people attracted to those projects, group themselves into six major categories, or "historic preservation concepts." Here are the six concepts, as I see them: first, the Patriot Shrine Concept, dedicated to honoring Great Men or Great Events; second, the Americana Concept, based on the interpretation of everyday life through groups of historic buildings; third, the High-Society Museum, or "Envy Me, Admire My Stuff," Concept, reflecting the public's fascination with mansions and finery; fourth, the Washed-Up-Community Concept, featuring heritage tourism, pilgrimages, romantic lodgings, and antique malls; fifth, the Community Bandwagon Concept, in which an otherwise "modern" community rallies to save a "white elephant;" and sixth, the If-Walls-Could-Talk Concept, for private restorations undertaken by victims of placelessness. The last concept is well known from a popular cable television series of that name, so we turn our attention to the other five.<sup>5</sup>

Category One—the Patriot Shrine Concept—is the oldest kind of historic preservation in the United States and will claim the lion's share of our attention. The earliest major group effort of the type is the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association's purchase of George Washington's home from his grand-nephew in 1858. The ladies' mission was clear: "Those who go to the home in which he lived and died, wish to see in what he lived and died ... upon you rests this duty." Women could not vote, but saving Mount Vernon demonstrated their right to help preserve the Republic. Since membership was by invitation only, the Mount Vernon ladies could also assert their vision of who should be in control. The ruling class of colonial and revolutionary-era America might be sinking in visibility, wealth, and power, but its members still knew who they were. Board seats and fundraisers became opportunities for old elites to maintain power and legitimacy. The house and great man were catalysts, but the exertion of status helped rally the troops.<sup>6</sup>

The Ladies' Hermitage Association, formed in 1889 to save Andrew

Jackson's home, became another path-breaking Patriot Shrine group. Its members proved that political lobbying could bring results. In 1907, historian-president Theodore Roosevelt visited the Jackson shrine and promised government assistance (1908 was an election year). The ladies shrewdly recruited a U.S. senator from Tennessee and a congressman from Nashville to the board of trustees, and secured \$5,000 from the national treasury for repairs and improvements. Projects like Mount Vernon and the Hermitage quickly provided historic preservation the sheen of exclusivity and prestige.<sup>7</sup>

Closer to home, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas preserved Patriot Shrines as well. Descendants of prominent Texas families, most notably Betty Ballinger and Hally Bryan Perry, started the organization in 1891. Among its other achievements, the group persuaded the state to buy, mark, and preserve the San Jacinto battlefield. The Daughters became custodians of the Alamo in 1905, and later operated the French Legation in Austin (built in 1840), saved the Old Land Office Building (1858), and in East Texas assumed responsibility for the Ezekiel Cullen house in San Augustine (1839).<sup>8</sup>

Overall, East Texas lags a bit in the Patriot Shrine category. The region has not produced many nationally known political leaders, so Great Man sites are scarce. The boyhood home of John Nance Garner, vice president from 1933 to 1941, stands in Detroit, midway between Paris and Clarksville. Bonham boasts the Sam Rayburn House and Library, preserving the memory of "Mr. Sam." Lady Bird Johnson's childhood home, the antebellum T.J. Taylor house at Karnack, may eventually become a memorial, but she is more closely identified with LBJ Ranch and a wildflower center near Austin. U.S. Senator Ralph Yarborough's childhood home at Chandler also exists, but Yarborough was so unpopular during his Senate term (1957 to 1970) that his home is unlikely to become a shrine.<sup>9</sup>

Few of the East Texas homes belonging to past presidents of the Republic of Texas or former governors of the state remain, and those that do are typically preserved only because of private endowments. J. Pinckney Henderson (1846-1847), the first governor, settled at San Augustine in 1840; his home, though altered, still stands. Governor Pendleton Murrah (1863-1865) lived in Marshall at 1207 S. Washington Blvd. The site is marked. Governor James Stephen Hogg (1891-1895) broke the Redeemer tradition. Born at Rusk in 1851 to a Confederate general, orphaned at age eleven and forced to sell his family's plantation for taxes, Hogg moved to Quitman to work for the Wood County sheriff, left for Tyler with a newspaper job, then founded the *Longview News* in 1871 and a second paper in Quitman. Becoming district attorney and state attorney general from 1884 to 1886, Hogg returned to Tyler and rode the issues of railroad and insurance regulation into the governor's mansion in 1891. Deeply interested in history, Hogg authorized funding for the state archives, and his daughter, Miss Ima Hogg, carried on his good works. She established the Governor Hogg Shrine in Quitman that includes his law office, "honeymoon cottage," and in-laws' home. Miss Ima also donated the family's Bayou Bend mansion in Houston for a museum of decorative arts, and the Varner-Hogg Plantation in West Columbia as an exhibit

of antebellum life. Hogg's Tyler home has been moved, but still exists at 1819 S. Chilton.<sup>10</sup>

Governor Charles Culberson (1895-1899) – “Our Christian Governor” – served in the U.S. Senate from 1898 to 1922; his boyhood home in Jefferson (restored in 1988) is sometimes open for tours. Governor Ross Sterling (1931-1933) of Anahuac opened a feed store at Sour Lake in 1903 and invested in mineral rights. He bought small-town banks and in 1910 obtained two wells that became Humble Oil (now known as Exxon). Sterling sold his Humble interests in 1925 to concentrate on real estate and newspapers. Critically important in the creation of Texas highways, controversial in his handling of oil regulation, and deeply involved in Houston business circles. Sterling gave his mansion in La Porte to the Optimist Club in 1947 as a children's home. Its sale in 1962 allowed the “Boys & Girls Harbor” to buy 200 acres where about seventy at-risk children now live. The La Porte mansion apparently exists, but Sterling's home in Houston on Yoakum Blvd. may have fallen in the 1990s to widen Southwest Freeway. Governor Allan Shivers (1949-1957) was born in Lufkin in 1907. His parents' home there (1881) is now the Governor Allan Shivers Library and Museum. Shivers and his wife donated their mansion in Austin to the University of Texas Law School.<sup>11</sup>

Governor Price Daniel (1957-1963) of Liberty County entered the legislature in 1939, became Speaker in 1943, attorney general in 1946, and U.S. senator in 1952. As governor, Daniel essentially founded the Texas State Library and Archives. At his death in 1988, the Daniel ranch at Liberty became the Sam Houston Regional Library and Research Center, featuring two museum homes – an 1848 house with original furnishings and an 1883 house with educational exhibits – and Daniel's own home acting as a library. Mrs. Daniel is a Sam Houston descendant, which brings up the most important East Texas Great Man Shrine: Sam Houston Memorial Park in Huntsville. Houston was commander-in-chief of the Army of the Republic of Texas, president of the Republic (1836-1838, 1841-1844), U.S. senator (1846-1859), and governor (1859-1861). Memorial Park assembles at one site his antebellum home, “Woodland;” the Steamboat House, where he died in 1863; his law office; a kitchen; and blacksmith shop. Also in Huntsville is Houston's colossal statue on Interstate 45, which some students at Tyler Junior College claim is the only “historic site” they've ever visited.<sup>12</sup>

A good example of preservation failure is Fort Houston, the antebellum home of John H. Reagan, near Palestine. Reagan served as postmaster general of the Confederacy, U.S. Senator, and first head of the Texas Railroad Commission. After his death in 1905, heirs offered it to the State of Texas and the city of Palestine as a Reagan memorial. Daughters of the Confederacy raised a beautiful bronze statue to him in Reagan Park in 1911, but the family, the state, and the city refused to maintain the home, so it rotted, burned, and is gone.<sup>13</sup>

One of East Texas's oldest structures is the Adolphus Sterne house in Nacogdoches. A merchant built it in 1828 when the town was still a Mexican

trading post. Sterne attended the Convention of 1833, recruited soldiers for the Texas Revolution, commanded a company at the Battle of the Neches, and sat in the state legislature as a representative from the Nacogdoches district. David Crockett and Thomas J. Rusk visited in Sterne's home, Sam Houston was baptized a Catholic there, and Chief Bowles of the Cherokees signed a treaty inside. The Hoya family bought it in 1869, lived there for many years, and donated it to the city in 1959 for use as a library. In 1983, a group called Friends of the Adolphus Sterne Home raised money for a professional restoration. In 1986, it received the first annual Lucille Terry Preservation Award from the East Texas Historical Association and the Texas Forestry Museum.<sup>14</sup>

Battlefield preservation is another important part of the Patriot Shrine category. It began after the Civil War when veterans' groups bought battlefield cemeteries and marked where their units fought. In the 1890s, the national government pioneered efforts to preserve Civil War sites and veterans in Congress, led by Dan Sickles, promoted the establishment of national military parks. The first were at Shiloh, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Chickamauga. Restoration was not the goal; rather, the construction of a battlefield park, like Vicksburg's, offered state governments opportunities to erect the "showiest" or "most tasteful" monuments in what were essentially drive-through sculpture gardens. Scholars groused at the intrusion of granite and bronze, but the public loved these exhibitions. When public opinion shifted and Civil War memorials became less popular, the national government withdrew from its leadership role. Then, in 1986, developers' threats to build a shopping mall on top of Second Manassas energized Civil War roundtables across the country. The Conservation Fund, Civil War Trust, and Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites bought and donated sites to state or federal governments. Congress spent \$100 million to acquire Manassas and expanded the National Parks Service to include a Battlefield Protection Program. The Executive Branch also created a Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, and new books about preserving battlefields inspired the boosters of historic tourism.<sup>15</sup>

East Texans have little to work with in the field of battlefield preservation. Some might consider Deer Park's San Jacinto Monument, twenty-two miles east of downtown Houston, to be in East Texas. If so, its battleground, 570-foot obelisk, and pre-World War I dreadnought, the battleship *Texas*, are clearly the most important military shrines in our region. Another coastal-plains inclusion is the Dick Dowling monument at the Sabine Pass Battleground State Historical Park. Not a restoration in the classic sense, its "boat ramp, fish-cleaning shelter," and "fine view of ships entering and leaving" the Gulf at least furnishes large numbers of visitors a brush with history. The marking of military sites can be controversial. For example, skirmishes between Anglos and Native Americans are marked, but little effort has been made to preserve them. One site that does recall the wounds of frontier strife is the Killough monument, lurking in mysterious obscurity near Larissa. The W.P.A. built this stone pyramid in the 1930s to mark an Indian massacre from 1838.<sup>16</sup>

If battlegrounds from Indian wars are ignored, neither is much effort made to recognize or reconstruct early fortifications. While most colonial installations in East Texas have vanished, the locations of three Spanish-era *presidios* are known. *Nuestra Senora de los Dolores de los Tejas* stood from 1716 to 1719 between Weches and Alto. After it was abandoned during the Chicken War, the Marquis de Aguayo reestablished the settlement in 1721 as *Nuestra Senora de los Dolores de los Neches*, six miles from Douglass. *San Augustin de Ahumada* guarded the mouth of the Trinity, from 1756 to 1771, at Wallisville. The locations of no fewer than six East Texas missions are known. *San Francisco de los Tejas* stood between Weches and Augusta from 1690 to 1716, then at Bowles Creek in Cherokee County from 1716 to 1719, and was reestablished in 1721 six miles west of Alto. It moved to San Antonio in 1731 and became *San Francisco de la Espada* (extant). *Mission Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches* (1716-1719, 1721-1731) operated in what is now downtown Nacogdoches. *Mission Nuestra Senora de la Purisima Concepcion de los Hainai* (1716) sat on the east bank of the Angelina River near Douglass. It moved to San Antonio in 1731 and became *Mission Concepcion* (extant). *Mission San Jose de los Nazonis* (1716-1719, 1721-1730) was two miles north of Cushing and moved to San Antonio in 1731 as *Mission San Juan Capistrano* (extant). *Mission Nuestra Senora de los Dolores de los Ais* (1717-1719, 1722-1773) helped guard the border at San Augustine. An archivist-historian named Adan Benavides, Jr., recently spearheaded the creation of a modern visitors' center, research facility, and RV park at the site. Finally, *Mission Nuestra Senora de la Luz de los Orcoquisac* stood from 1756 to 1771 at Wallisville, near Lake Miller, forty miles west of Beaumont. With the growing Catholic and Hispanic population of Texas, these seem like prime candidates for reconstruction. Apart from the Caddoan Mounds State Historic Site near Alto, there seems to have been no attempt to rebuild a Native American village.<sup>17</sup>

The most visible relic from the Spanish era is Antonio Gil Y'Barbo's Stone House, originally constructed around 1780 at the site of the *Mission Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe* (1716). The Magee-Gutierrez (1812) and James Long (1819) filibustering expeditions made use of the Stone House, and it served as headquarters for the Fredonia Revolt (1826-1827), but it was more typically used as a trading post. A saloonkeeper gave the building its present name in 1846. The Perkins Brothers, businessmen in Nacogdoches, bought the Old Stone Fort in 1901 for the prime commercial lot. Civic activists tried to save it, but failed; instead, using the original rocks from the walls, they built a replica in 1936 at Stephen F. Austin State Teachers' College, mostly as a relief project for the unemployed.<sup>18</sup>

When Anglo settlers moved to Texas, timber fortifications such as block-houses and stockades proliferated. Maps of settlements under the Republic (1836-1845) show many private and public forts, like my ancestors' Fort Brown and Fort Bennett near Grapeland, or Fort Houston, the original settlement at Palestine, and Fort Crawford, at Hallsville. However, only a couple of replicas on the region's western fringes recall this presence. Bonham's Fort



English Park contains a rebuilt blockhouse and stockade, in memory of one erected by Bailey English in 1837. A reproduction of Fort Boggy, at Centerville, evokes a Texas Rangers' post of the 1840s. More famous is Fort Parker, near Groesbeck, where a Comanche raid in 1836 resulted in the deaths of five settlers and the capture of women and children, like my cousins Cynthia Ann Parker and Rachel Parker Plummer, whose lives have become legendary. The Civilian Conservation Corps reconstructed the fort in 1936 as part of the Texas Centennial celebration, and in 1939 placed a dam on the Navasota River to create Fort Parker Lake. History and recreation worked together to make this a popular site for family outings. In 1967 the fort was renovated, but budget cutters in Austin later judged the number of state parks to be excessive and divested Fort Parker (while keeping the lake). The City of Groesbeck, population 3,000, now struggles to keep it repaired. Several log homes have been moved to the site.<sup>19</sup>

During the Civil War, East Texas primarily contained support facilities like small manufacturing plants. The city of Tyler largely ignores the site of Camp Ford, a prison for upwards of 6,000 Union war captives. At one time, efforts were underway to make this – the largest Civil War prison camp west of the Mississippi – into a major national park, but infighting within the local historical establishment wrecked the project's momentum. An interpretive kiosk and replica of a P.O.W. shebang communicate something of the camp's former appearance. In Groesbeck, the Confederate Reunion Grounds State Historic Site contains an 1872 Heritage House and 1893 dance pavilion. United Confederate Veteran reunions occurred there from 1889 to 1946. In Marshall, the house at 510 W. Burleson belonged to Senator Louis T. Wigfall, whose flaming speeches and erratic life of "debt, defiance, and drinking" symbolize much of the tragedy of secession. Encased in a grandiose remodeling, the Goodman Museum in Tyler at 624 N. Broadway contains the ground floor rooms where noted Confederate diarist Kate Stone wrote part of *Brokenburn*. Confederate general and U.S. Senator Sam Bell Maxey's home stands in Paris. Lost Confederate shrines in East Texas include a house at 402 S. Bolivar in Marshall that served as the Confederate capitol of Missouri-in-exile, and "Wyalucing," an antebellum mansion at Marshall that housed offices of the Department of the Trans-Mississippi.<sup>20</sup>

World War II occurred far from East Texas, but the area contained training and manufacturing facilities that should be better recognized. Little survives in Longview from Harmon General Hospital, a complex of 232 buildings. Although 25,000 military personnel convalesced at Harmon during WWII, its specialties included psychiatry and syphilis, so few ex-patients share their reminiscences. Earth-moving equipment magnate R.G. LeTourneau bought the grounds in 1945 as a campus for a Christian engineering school that became LeTourneau University. The hospital buildings deteriorated and were replaced as funds became available. By 1957, one of the last remaining structures, the old servicemen's chapel, was a surplus engine warehouse. Alumnus Don Landis spearheaded its renovation and use as the college chapel from 1958 to 1965. Later, in 1982, Dr. Dorothy Speer, a retired

professor and missionary, endowed funds for renovations and upkeep. The Speer Memorial Chapel received the Lucille Terry Preservation Award from the East Texas Historical Association and the Texas Forestry Museum in 2001. It may be the only deliberately restored World War II military building in East Texas.<sup>21</sup>

There are other East Texas World War II sites—such as training bases and factories—with potential for at least partial preservation. Tyler's Camp Fannin was a vast Army basic training and infantry replacement center from 1943 to 1946. About 200,000 soldiers trained there, and the site covered nearly twenty-two square miles. Its hospital facilities, with nearly 1,100 beds, formed the nucleus of the East Texas State Tuberculosis Sanatorium in 1948 (now the UT Health Center). One of Camp Fannin's movie theaters is now a house, and a derelict barracks is used as sleeping quarters by migrant workers. Most buildings were sold as military surplus in 1946. Huntsville had a prison camp for about 2,000 confirmed Nazis, and Mexia hosted a similar facility for about 3,300 captured in North Africa. Camp Maxey, ten miles north of Paris, was an infantry-training center from 1942 to 1945 with a capacity for 45,000 troops. It detained about 5,300 P.O.W.s. Most of Maxey's buildings were demolished or moved, and the northern part is beneath Pat Mayse Lake. Terrell's pre-war airport housed the Dallas Aviation School for cadets in the Army Air Corps from 1939 to 1940. The airport now holds the Silent Wings Museum for WWII glider pilots and the Troop Carrier Command. Majors Field at Greenville, and small airports at Caddo Mills, Cash, and South Sulphur trained men for the 50,000 Pilots Training Program. The Longhorn Ordnance Works opened at Karnack in 1941 as an ammunition plant run by Monsanto and produced almost 400 million pounds of dynamite in WWII. Longview's Big Inch pipeline, built in 1942 and 1943, was a twenty-four-inch-tube 1,381 miles long that could carry nine million barrels of oil a month to Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, to protect fuel supplies from submarine attacks. At Hooks, seventeen miles west of Texarkana, the Lone Star Ordnance Plant and Red River Arsenal operated from 1941 until 1942.<sup>22</sup>

A third genre of preservation within the Patriot Shrine category is the county courthouse. In the days before the growth of national and state governments, counties performed most vital governmental functions. Florid courthouse palaces from the Victorian and Beaux Arts period yield to bashful, box-like Art Deco and Bauhaus shapes in the 1930s. The older courthouses are unrepentant reminders of the days when localities mattered, and the literate, white, poll-taxed males of each county were sovereign in their own spheres. Retired men even ringed the building at checkerboards and park benches like scouts on patrol, or a defensive line, to help maintain the status quo.<sup>23</sup>

In Texas, 102 courthouses are currently on the National Register of Historic Places, which means 152 are not. Battles over restoration or destruction raged in nearly every Texas county. During the nineteenth century, common practice dictated starting with a log courthouse and replacing it with a frame or brick building as funds became available. Many of the antebellum

courthouses—those that did not burn during Reconstruction, often in suspicious circumstances—were deemed too small and replaced. The arrival of railroads in the 1870s stimulated the construction of courthouses that competed like prize bulls against those of neighboring towns. In 1881, when the legislature allowed counties to sell bonds for courthouse construction, a building boom overwhelmed almost all the pre-existing structures. Romanesque Revival styles held sway until about 1900, when the Beaux Arts edifice debuted. In the 1920s, low interest rates and boosterism facilitated a little courthouse building. Then, in the 1930s, unemployment, low materials costs, and federal subsidies provoked a building binge. The final wave of replacements took place in the 1950s, when super-confident Americans believed in progress above all else. This generation committed the most egregious blunders.<sup>24</sup>

It appears that no more than three antebellum courthouses exist in the state of Texas, and the only antebellum courthouse in use is in East Texas, at Linden in Cass County. It was apparently built in 1861, one month prior to the bombing of Fort Sumter, enlarged in 1900, and remodeled in 1962. In addition, there are eight or ten nineteenth-century courthouses in the region. Their survival has been anything but certain. The most significant are a quartet of virtually intact Romanesque Revival buildings that still serve as courthouses: Red River County's at Clarksville (1884); Hopkins County's at Sulphur Springs (1895); Jasper County's at Jasper (1885); and Shelby County's so-called "Irish Castle" at Center (1885). The unloved Morris County courthouse at Daingerfield, built in 1881, is sometimes vacant, sometimes a museum. Bowie County's at Boston (1889) was remodeled in 1937, enlarged in 1951, then retired and placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Tyler County's at Woodville (1891) lost antique detailing in the course of two remodelings but retained its proportions. Leon County has a restored courthouse at Centerville (1886), but is that East Texas? The similarly indistinct environs of Fannin County, at Bonham, harbor an 1888 courthouse totally engulfed by an Art Deco reconstruction. Two courthouses from 1900 experienced different fates. Harrison County's at Marshall remained the town's spiritual centerpiece even after the government moved across the street in 1964. Titus County's at Mount Pleasant still holds county offices but underwent such drastic remodeling in 1938 and 1962 that it lost almost all its original character. Newton County residents restored their old courthouse (1902) in 1972. When the bell tower caught fire on August 4, 1999 and the blaze gutted the building, they immediately vowed to reconstruct it. Their \$3.4 million emergency grant from the Historic Courthouse Preservation Program allowed construction to begin in July of 2001 under supervision of the Texas Historical Commission.<sup>25</sup>

Growing up in Sulphur Springs, I heard arguments about courthouse preservation from my earliest childhood. With its three stories of granite and sandstone, tower, porticoes, exotic textures, and carved faces peeping from beneath the balconies, the Hopkins County courthouse seemed like a vision from the Middle Ages. Many businessmen considered it an eyesore, and members of the Hopkins County Historical Society cut their eyeteeth preserving the building from demolition. Finally, County Judge Cletis Millsap, philan-

thropist Mary Bonham, and other community leaders applied for a courthouse restoration grant, raised matching funds, coordinated a thorough restoration, and returned the building to pristine condition. It was formally rededicated on December 7, 2002.<sup>36</sup>

Houston County's courthouse in Crockett dates from the 1930s. Like many others in East Texas, it is a plain, vaguely Art Deco building. What happened here typifies the fate of many Texas courthouses. Fires in 1865 and 1882 destroyed county records and provoked a reasonable preoccupation with fireproof construction. Therefore the courthouse built in 1883 was a massive, brick, two-storied structure with tall Gothic windows, gables, gingerbread trim, and a mansard clock tower. The county splurged on a \$20,000 bond issue to pay for it. Fifty-five years later, tastes had changed, the country was gripped by the Depression, Franklin Roosevelt's Public Works Administration was sponsoring improvement projects, and anyone who objected to a new courthouse opposed both progress and relief. Houston County's judge and commissioners' court wanted to show their effectiveness in getting grant money. A native-son architect wanted a big commission. Contractors and workmen wanted jobs. The Crockett Noon Lions Club wanted to display the town's progressive spirit. So community leaders cried that the old courthouse was structurally unsound, liable to collapse at any time. It was full of bacteria and a health hazard; too small and a firetrap. Its age and mode of construction supposedly caused heavy insurance premiums. Most importantly, the county could only get the free money if it built a new courthouse. So community leaders churned up support for a bond election of \$120,000 to get the PWA grant, and they wrote the proposal so a new jail could only be obtained if voters took the courthouse. In November of 1938, the Victorian courthouse fell. A prominent businessman in Crockett, writing in 1943, congratulated Houston County on its "present splendid building that constitutes the chief ornament of our city."<sup>37</sup>

Houston County's experience mirrors that of about eight other East Texas counties. Due to Depression-Era building policies, Victorian courthouses toppled in Anahuac (Chambers Co., 1908-1936), Rusk (Cherokee Co., 1889-1941), Cooper (Delta Co., 1898-1940), Conroe (Montgomery Co., 1891-1936), Orange (Orange Co., 1897-1937), Rockwall (Rockwall Co., 1892-1940), Gilmer (Upshur Co., 1889-1933), and Canton (Van Zandt Co., 1895-1937). Pre-New Deal oil-boom growth also took the courthouses at Beaumont (Jefferson Co., 1892), Liberty (Liberty Co., 1895), and Longview (Gregg Co., 1897) in 1931 and 1932. To be fair, Victorian building styles did seem hopelessly unattractive by the 1930s, and none of these buildings was (as yet) particularly historic. The oldest was only fifty-six years (comparable in 2004 to a building constructed in 1948). Public feeling had considerably changed, however, by the 1950s, when aggressive cabals basically railroaded six East Texas counties into destroying courthouses that were already perceived as historic. Critics said the old buildings could not be air-conditioned, were too small, and would cost too much to repair. Those in Panola County insisted that the turreted chimneys of the "Irish castle" courthouse at Carthage were a

structural hazard. Preservationists who wanted it saved for some other use were told to find the money. After fundraising failed, county officials auctioned it off for \$3,000 to be demolished and built a new courthouse in 1953. Not to be outdone, progressives in Smith County claimed that their courthouse interfered with traffic. Unless downtown streets became more user-friendly, they prophesied, all of Tyler's central business district would disappear. Routing Broadway through the square meant the courthouse must come down. A Beaux Arts masterpiece from 1908, very similar to Harrison County's in Marshall, it tumbled in 1955 due to a hastily negotiated wrecking contract that hardly allowed time for the building's defenders to complain. County commissioners replaced it with a featureless box. Angelina County did virtually the same thing in 1955 to an 1892 Victorian courthouse in Lufkin. Kaufman County tore down its 1885 courthouse in 1956, and Nacogdoches County razed its unusual corner lot courthouse (1911) in 1958. Hardin County smashed a 1904 courthouse in Kountze in 1959, placing a Bauhaus Moderne structure in its place. And Titus County subjected its poor, disfigured 1900 courthouse in Mt. Pleasant to a second remodeling in 1962, winding up with what may be the homeliest courthouse in the state.<sup>28</sup>

While the Patriot Shrine Concept is the oldest and most important preservation impulse in the United States, other categories are significant as well. The second major variety is the Americana Concept, in which restored buildings are grouped to recreate everyday life. Nationally, the leading examples are Henry Ford's Greenfield Village and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s Colonial Williamsburg. At Williamsburg, the rector of the Episcopal Church persuaded Rockefeller to underwrite a "living history" museum. He started contributing in 1927 and eventually sank nearly \$45 million into the project. Buildings were painstakingly restored or rebuilt in colonial styles. Costumed presenters cooked, danced, and practiced crafts to show visitors the daily life of their colonial ancestors. Henry Ford's approach was more static, but also more comprehensive. At Greenfield Village – beginning in 1927 as the Model T ceased production – Ford gathered forty-four historic structures and moved them to a central location where he enshrined 300 years of what he considered the best features of American life. Greenfield also included relics of industrialization, such as Ford's workshop and Edison's laboratory. The goal was "to recognize and preserve the ingenuity and resourcefulness used—and the progress consistently made—by average Americans as they built good lives in this great country."<sup>29</sup>

Both Americana museums were expensive to operate, and nothing on their scale exists in East Texas. However, some attempts have been made to acquaint visitors with everyday life before automobiles and electrification. One of the best is Millard's Crossing in Nacogdoches, a complex of seventeen buildings assembled by Mrs. Lera Millard Thomas. Mrs. Thomas had been a voluminous antique collector and a friend to noted preservationists Faith Bybee of Houston and Ima Hogg. In 1968, Mrs. Thomas began moving buildings to twelve acres she had inherited. She added another thirty-seven acres and gathered a wide range of buildings, including a log house from the 1830s,

a two-story city home of the 1830s, dog-trot houses from the 1840s and 1860s, an 1860s land office, a log school, Victorian cottages, a country store, a railroad caboose, and a Methodist chapel and parsonage. Some served as guest cottages for her family and friends, and all were furnished with antiques. The property now functions as a museum and rental facility for school tours, reunions, showers, and weddings.<sup>30</sup>

A complex at Woodville provides a rougher mixture of the Greenfield and Williamsburg experiences. Clyde E. Gray, an East Texas potter, collected vintage ephemera, Texas maps, Bonnie and Clyde memorabilia, obsolete tools, and even buildings. Eventually he recreated the feel of a Piney Woods town of the late 1800s. Virtually all of his items were viewed as junk by the former owners. They came from scattered locations in southeast Texas and were skillfully reassembled as a historical collage.<sup>31</sup>

Clyde Gray's Heritage Village Museum is oriented toward workspaces. There are only two residences among the buildings. Gray lived in one, and the other was a restored 1866 log cabin, moved in and honored with a state medallion. The prestige of the medallion home lent the rest of the complex respectability. Gray used a log utility shed as his potter's studio and became a local celebrity. A chair maker, Dallas Miller of Burkeville, joined Gray at the Village in 1964, but old age and lack of funds overwhelmed the project. A visitor in 1978 said it was in shambles. By 1988, Gray was dead and a young couple was trying to maintain the site. Sometime thereafter, the Tyler County Heritage Society entered the picture with plans for community involvement. Heritage Village – just one mile from Woodville – would be a multi-purpose center with regular hours, a restaurant, meeting rooms, workspaces, and buildings full of Mr. Gray's relics. The combination seems to be a hit, largely because it fits well with existing tourist attractions like the Alabama-Coushatta Reservation and Big Thicket Preserve. Three lakes and a state park lie nearby, so men can fish and send their wives to Heritage Village for shopping, crafts, and dining. Busloads of senior citizens pay \$13 a person for a guided tour and dinner at the Pickett House Restaurant (the driver eats free). Meals are "boarding house style" with fried chicken, chicken and dumplings, country vegetables, cobbler, biscuits, and cornbread. A jeweler who demonstrates lost-wax casting sells from his shop. Volunteers split shingles. The East Texas Blacksmith Alliance, a Spinning and Weaving Guild, Railroad Museum enthusiasts, and the Sons of Confederate Veterans use the Village for meetings and work sessions. A gift shop sells local pottery, quilts, wooden toys, wrought iron, jams and jellies, and artwork. There is a genealogical library, a church where weddings are held, and a traditional "front porch" stage with modern light and sound equipment. School groups tour the complex at affordable rates. The site also hosts quilt festivals, sacred harp singings, an outdoor drama, folk life festivals, Christmas shows, banquets, and a Texas Independence celebration. The Tyler County Heritage Society uses this quasi-historic site in a creative and friendly way to raise historical awareness and to build an inter-generational sense of community.<sup>32</sup>

A handful of other Americana installations exist in East Texas. Sulphur Springs has the Hopkins County Museum and Heritage Park with about fourteen historic houses, shops, mills, and a chapel, all of which are difficult and expensive to interpret or to maintain. The staff is volunteer, and the museum's hours of operation are limited. Henderson's Depot Museum and Children's Discovery Center features a Missouri Pacific Depot (1901), an 1841 log cabin, and a three-holed Victorian outhouse in its collection. In *Texas Log Buildings*, Terry Jordan complained about: "log houses ... dragged off to zoo-like restoration projects, to stand empty and unused, protected from vandalism by unsightly ... fences or drowned in concrete sidewalks." But in most cases, there is no alternative. In Beaumont, the Spindletop/Gladys City Boomtown replicates an oil-boom hamlet with fifteen typical buildings and a wooden derrick. Navarro County's Historical Society operates a Pioneer Village in Corsicana; Edgewood has a similar Heritage Park. Attracting visitors to unattended buildings is problematic, and persuading them to pay is even more challenging. Without private financing or energetic community support, the Americana Concept of preservation rarely succeeds.<sup>33</sup>

The impulse to preserve log cabins represents Americana on a smaller scale. These simple shelters once housed virtually the entire population of East Texas. But while vanity and ambition are gratified by saving the mansions of dead celebrities, saving cabins is an exercise in humility. Jonathan Fricker's "Humble Dwellings and Real History" notes that the value of small-house preservation is largely educational. From them, people learn that ancestral homes were dark, cold, drafty, and crude, with virtually no privacy. Most households in the East Texas censuses from 1850 through 1870 inhabited log dwellings, yet Terry Jordan estimated that in 1978 there were fewer than 700 occupied log homes in the whole state. Raiford Stripling's restoration of the 1826 Milton Garrett house at San Augustine, on *El Camino Real*, preserved one of the oldest log buildings in East Texas. Stripling lived there for about three years, after which it became a guesthouse. Another East Texas preservationist, Hobart Key, Jr., saved half of a pre-1842 dogtrot cabin from Trammel's Trace, near Smithland, and moved it to 301 Henley Perry Drive in Marshall. The oldest log structure in Texas is said to be the James Gaines house on *El Camino Real*, which formerly stood at the Sabine River ferry crossing but was moved west to escape Toledo Bend Lake. Other log structures open to the public include the Strode-Pritchett cabin (ca. 1843), at Davy Crockett Memorial Park in Crockett; a cabin at the Big Thicket Museum in Saratoga; a log house at the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation, near Woodville; the Jonas Davis cabin, at Livingston's Museum for Polk County; a pair near the old jail in Fairfield; an 1840s log house at Gilmer; the Judge Elkins house, now a country club near Cold Spring; and the Joseph Rice Stagecoach Inn (1828), a hostelry from *El Camino Real*, at *San Francisco de los Tejas Park*. Better known are Metroplex artifacts—the John Neely Bryan cabin (1841, reconstructed) in Dallas County Historical Plaza; the Dallas Old City Park; and the Log Cabin Village in Fort Worth (University Drive at Colonial Parkway). A rare two-story log house is at Forest Hill plantation,

near Alto. The Halfway House at Chireno, a former stagecoach inn, built in 1840 by Samuel Flournoy, is another two-story log structure. A different small-house example is "*La Maison Beausoleil*," a mud, cypress, and moss dwelling from St. Martin Parish, Louisiana, brought to Port Neches Park by barge. So many Cajuns came to Texas with the oil boom, it was thought necessary to bring a Cajun house to interpret their heritage. The most recently restored cabin stands in Huntsville, on the courthouse square, where it was moved after many years as a hay barn. Ancestors of Maggie Farris Parker built it around 1840 and either occupied or rented it out until the 1940s. By 2001, its decayed condition and remote location made it seem doomed. However, Ms. Farris contacted Caroline Crimm, a professor of history at Sam Houston State University, and Dr. Crimm decided to make the cabin's preservation part of her Texas history course. Using her own students, fraternity volunteers, and prisoners from the Texas penal system, Crimm supervised the moving, reassembling, and restoration of the cabin as part of a Main Street Project.<sup>34</sup>

At the other end of the preservation spectrum is the High Society Concept, or "Envy Me, Admire My Stuff." Conspicuous consumers especially enjoy a Big House museum because it dignifies the art of display. Castles and palaces were standard fare for well-to-do tourists on the Grand Tour, so this truly represents one of the oldest forms of heritage tourism. With some exceptions, the fancy houses of East Texas are less lavish than those in many parts of the country. Most early homes in East Texas lacked any sort of refinement, but there were a few exceptions. A fairly imposing home of the 1830s belonging to land speculator John Durst once occupied the bluffs overlooking the Angelina River at Mount Sterling. Frontier conditions were so unsettled that the house featured an underground dining room, cut from rock, where women and children hid during Indian raids. The home of my uncle Joseph Jordan, at Fort Houston, was thought to be exceedingly fine in the 1830s because it had plaster walls laid over hand-cut lathes. This sprang from the demands of his wife, Elizabeth Chism of Kentucky, who rode sidesaddle, kept an apothecary garden and a neighborhood "Granny school," and refused to live in an undressed cabin. People who cared about such things were more common in East Texas in the 1850s, when sawmills appeared, and the region grew more civilized under the influence of planters, merchants, and professional men.<sup>35</sup>

Partly due to the cult of "moonlight and magnolias," many visitors to antebellum houses expect to be overwhelmed. Actually, plantation homes in East Texas were usually made of logs. Even when built according to patterns, from brick or dressed lumber, they were rarely "magnificent." Large farmhouses, solidly built, with marks of distinction such as generous proportions, columns, and moldings, are typical. Texas plantation homes usually stood in remote locations, and few remain. One of the oldest is the William T. Scott house (after 1843), a long galleried, Louisiana-style plantation home at Scottsville. Scott owned 103 slaves in 1850, made a cotton crop of 356 bales in 1859, was a state senator and railroad promoter, and one of the richest men in antebellum Texas. A descendant, Mary Scott Yourec, restored the plantation



house and outbuildings in the 1920s. Other extant plantation homes in Harrison County include "Locust Grove" (1847) at Jonesville, on Coleman Road; "Mimosa Hall" (1844) on Hwy. 134, four miles north of Jonesville, built by John J. Webster; "Cedar Grove" (1852), the Henry Ware house on Blocker Road, nine miles southeast of Marshall; the T.J. Taylor home (1850s) on Hwy. 43 at Karnack, built by Cephas Andrews; and "Edgemont" (1850s), the Montraville Hall home, west of Marshall on the Old Longview Road. "Pine Hill" is an interesting transitional home, showing the transformation of a log dwelling into a Greek-Revival-style-house. Garlington Coker Dial built it as a double-cabin on Hwy. 449, west of Marshall, in the late 1840s, but carpetbagger Judge John Brown Williamson, who wanted to appear more Southern than he was, remodeled it into a "plantation home" in 1873.<sup>36</sup>

The relatively large number of plantation homes in Harrison County reflects its position as the wealthiest cotton county in antebellum East Texas. San Augustine County held another pocket of wealth, but most of its antebellum homes are in town. An exception is the William Garrett plantation house (1861), a beautiful raised-cottage dwelling. Monte Verdi, at Glenfawn, near Mt. Enterprise and Laneville, was built around 1856 by Julien Sidney Devereux and restored between 1959 and 1964 by the Emmett Lowrys of Texas City. It is profoundly rural, in an elegant Greek Revival style.<sup>37</sup>

Roseland, near Edom, was built in 1854 and restored in the 1950s (after decades of sharecropper tenants) by Mrs. Gertrude Windsor, a Tyler philanthropist and oil millionaire's wife. The Freeman Plantation home, built by Williamson Freeman near Jefferson in 1850, resembles a Louisiana cottage. Jenny Lind is said to have sung in its parlor. Longview oilman Lawrence Flannery restored it in the late 1930s, and the DeWare family maintains it. The Francis Kay plantation home, at Winona, was built around 1858. Though in good condition, it was so modernized by oil millionaire H.L. Hunt in the 1930s that it lost much of its historicity. "The Junction," an 1849 plantation home at Huntsville, is now a restaurant, and the R.C. Doom house at Bevilport belongs to Congressman Jack Brooks. At Teasleville, near Bullard, Tyler attorney Julius Bergfeld recently restored Myrtle Vale at the plantation of Colonel John Dewberry. Originally constructed in the 1850s, Myrtle Vale reached a state of advanced decay by the 1990s. Bergfeld stabilized the structure, replaced missing features and woodwork, and either subcontracted or did all the restoration work himself. In 2004, he received the Lucille Terry Preservation Award.<sup>38</sup>

More typically, antebellum homes are town or suburban residences. New England builder Augustus Phelps constructed a trio of unusually fine Greek Revival houses in San Augustine around 1839, and Raiford Stripling supervised their restoration in the 1950s. The Colonel Stephen Blount house, the Ezekiel Cullen house, and the Matthew Cartwright house inspired a re-appreciation for old buildings throughout East Texas. Sadly, Phelps' own house in San Augustine belongs to an owner who refuses to save it or allow anyone else to. It currently rots as a hay barn. Several town-house restorations in more

recent times have been recognized by Terry Awards. The winner in 1987 was the Howard-Dickinson House, in Henderson, built around 1854 as the first brick house in Rusk County. A two-storied house with six chimneys, the original owners lived there until 1905. It then served as a boarding house until 1950, and stood vacant and vandalized until 1964, when the Homer Bryces purchased it and donated it to the Rusk County Heritage Association. The Association opened it in 1967 as a museum and meeting place. The Terry Award winner for 1989, the John Jay French House of Beaumont, was built in 1845. A trading post, tannery, and residence, it was the first two-story house in town, the first painted house, and the first built with lumber rather than logs. The original family sold it in 1940; it then fell into decay and was restored in the 1960s by the Beaumont Heritage Society. Another antebellum townhouse, the Monroe-Crook House in Crockett, received the 1993 Terry Award. Armistead Monroe, grandnephew of President James Monroe, built the house in 1854. In 1969 Sara Crook Bartlett bequeathed it to Houston County. Two years later the Women's Clubs of Crockett formed a non-profit corporation and hired Raiford Stripling to direct the restoration. Through donations, volunteer labor, and a federal grant, it became a museum in 1974. The 1998 Terry prizewinner, the McNard House (1838-1840), is the oldest house in Galveston. The home stood vacant for more than a decade before the Galveston Historical Foundation purchased it in 1992. The agency stabilized the structure, added a new roof, and sold it to Fred and Pat Burns in 1994. They spent more than a million dollars to restore it to its "original" appearance.<sup>39</sup>

More grandiose examples appear in the High Society preservation category from the Victorian or Beaux Arts/Colonial Revival eras. Railroads brought urbanization and manufactured goods to East Texas, as well as prosperity and an active lumber industry. Houses also became more elaborate. Almost every town in East Texas has one or several historic mansions of varying quality, including: Crockett's Downs-Aldrich home (1893); Jefferson's "House of the Four Seasons" (built by Benjamin Epperson, 1872; restored by the Richard Collins's of Dallas in the 1970s); Marshall's "Maplecroft" (Starr Family State Historic Site, 1870), Mount Pleasant's Florey-Meriweather Home (1912); Orange's W.H. Stark House (1894, restored 1971-1981); Port Arthur's "Pompeian Villa" (1900, built for Isaac Ellwood, the "Barbed Wire King"); Port Arthur's "White Haven" (a 1915 Greek Revival operated by the Daughters of the American Revolution); Tyler's Goodman-LeGrand House (1859, greatly enlarged early in the twentieth century); Tyler's Connally-Musselman Home (Arts and Crafts, 1906-1908); Kountze's Kirby-Hill House (1901, built by the lumber king's brother); Paris's Scott Mansion (Mission style, 1908-1910); and Longview's Dr. William Northcutt house, 313 S. Fredonia (1902, finished in 2001 by Billy and Leigh Decker after prior owners' false starts). Two Terry Award winners belong to this category. The McFaddin-Ward House in Beaumont, winner of the 1997 Terry Award, was built in 1906 in a florid Beaux Arts style. The house contains 12,800 square feet, and the carriage house 8,000 more. Its builder, W.P.H. McFaddin, inherited huge tracts of coastal ranchland and vigorously added to his wealth by

investing in agriculture and oil. A daughter, Mamie Ward, left foundation money for refurbishing and maintenance. The 2003 Terry winner was the "Ace of Clubs House" in Texarkana. James Draughon (1885) supposedly funded its construction with gambling money and shaped the floor plan around the winning card. In 1894 he sold it to Henry Moore, whose family occupied the house for nearly ninety years. In 1985, Olivia Moore donated the house and contents to the Texarkana Museums System.<sup>40</sup>

Overall, the High Society Concept works best when a family subsidizes its own memorial, a unique person with money falls in love with a house, or a well-connected community group has some relevant use for an old house. Otherwise, stately homes are exposed to considerable risk. Frequently situated in small towns with poor prospects for employment, or in dangerous neighborhoods where a restorer cannot get a loan, feel safe, or recover investments, these houses drift through increasingly marginal economic strata and wind up in complete disrepair. Several of East Texas's remaining "Silk Stocking Rows" are now either slum-like or on the verge of becoming so; others have been demolished for strip malls and parking lots. Scattered surviving homes on business streets, as in Athens and Nacogdoches, often seem more pitiful than impressive. Sometimes whole cities, like Palestine and Marshall, or run-down areas such as North Tyler and South Longview, give the impression of a museum whose caretakers have fled, leaving the remains to vandals.

The fourth preservation concept is that of the Washed-Up-Community-Selling-History-to-Tourists. The concept is presently overdone, because residents in many towns believe that tourism can substitute for industry as an economic base. In its original form, however, the concept was fresh and exciting. Heritage tourism proliferated in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s because of the automobile. In this time of social and economic change, "places that time forgot" became popular. "Has-been" spots sold themselves to the rest of the country as living time machines, and no place did it better than Natchez, Mississippi, particularly after the Garden Club's creation of an annual pilgrimage in 1932. Natchez offered house and garden tours, music revues, and a quaint hospitality that made visitors feel like Southern aristocrats. Old buildings and period furnishings lay at the core of the attraction. In East Texas, the town best equipped to follow the footsteps of Natchez was not Nacogdoches or San Augustine, but a younger town—Jefferson.<sup>41</sup>

Jefferson's success now seems almost inevitable, but this was far from the case. Without volunteerism and shameless self-promotion, Jefferson probably would have crumbled into Big Cypress Bayou. Yet, while other East Texas towns promoted themselves as modern and bulldozed landmarks, Jefferson reveled in "antiquity" and invented a history for itself. How did Jefferson turn its past into its future?

Jefferson sits where Trammel's Trace crossed Cypress Bayou. Established in 1813 and chopped for wagon traffic in 1824, the Trace led from Nacogdoches to Fulton, Arkansas, and then on to St. Louis. It was the north-south route for settlers to northeast Texas. Real-estate developers Allen

Urquhart and Daniel Alley scoured land at the ferry crossing in 1843 and 1845. Meanwhile, Captain Charles Shreve cleared Louisiana's Red River for steam navigation. Shreveport was founded in 1837, and planters and merchants in northeast Texas realized that an east-west corridor through Cypress Bayou, Caddo Lake, and Twelve-Mile Bayou could take their goods from Shreveport to New Orleans. In 1844, Captain William Perry cleared Cypress Bayou and by 1845 Jefferson was operating as a steamboat port. Ox-drawn wagons came from as far away as Sherman and Dallas. Overland stage connections to Clarksville and Marshall operated on a daily basis, with tri-weekly service to Nacogdoches. By 1847, Jefferson boasted a newspaper and an iron foundry, and its merchant community flourished.

The land surrounding Jefferson, however, was not well suited to plantation agriculture. Townsfolk identified with planter values, but hardly any planters lived there (mostly farmers and small slave owners). In the absence of planter elites, the merchant and professional classes asserted their own claims to gentility. After all, they lived in style off the profits of commerce. Jefferson shipped 25,000 bales of cotton in 1859, while small landings nearby added another 33,500 bales. The town's importance increased when it became a manufacturing and meatpacking center for the Confederacy. Its population more than doubled between 1860 and 1870, reaching 4,190. Gas streetlights helped with public safety, and saloons like the Lady Gay and Charlie's Palace flourished from steamboat traffic. In 1870, fifty-two different boats made 294 trips to Jefferson. This turned out to be the peak year, however, since railroads soon began to make inroads in the carrying trade. The town's population spiked at nearly 7,300 in 1872, but that soon crumbled just like Jefferson's business. Not only did railroads steal traffic away, but the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers blew up the driftwood in Red River that made Cypress Bayou navigable. Shreveport's population doubled while Jefferson's plunged, hitting 1,331 by 1880. Residents hoped to gain the terminus of the International & Great Northern Railroad in 1873, but Longview got that honor. Jefferson's link to the Texas and Pacific subordinated its own interests to Marshall's. Two attempts to bring colleges to town failed, and Jefferson even lost its largest industry, the Kelly Plow factory, to Longview in 1882.<sup>42</sup>

To console themselves, the people of Jefferson began to take refuge in history. For example, in 1875 the town inaugurated the Queen Mab parade and costume ball, electing a local belle, Jesse Allen Wise, as queen. Since the Lost Cause held whites of all classes together, Jefferson raised a Confederate monument in 1907. Also in that year, the YMCA Women's Auxiliary secured a Carnegie Library. Town leaders thought that education and culture proved the old elite were worthy of bearing rule. Those who accepted this version of things found the results to be charming.<sup>43</sup>

In 1937, Jefferson got lucky in the oil boom, and interest in local history increased. White- and blue-collar oilfield workers spread the fame of the "town time forgot." Dan and Ruth Lester were among the new arrivals who quickly became enchanted, purchasing an antebellum home, "Guarding Oak." Also in 1937, the editor of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce magazine

came to Jefferson to advise people to copy the Natchez Pilgrimage. Thirty-five Jefferson ladies answered the call by creating the Jessie Allen Wise Garden Club in 1939 and planning a Dogwood Trail for 1940. However, only one historic residence opened for tours. Mrs. Mary Carlson, granddaughter of Daniel Alley, entranced visitors by showing her antebellum home and three generations of heirlooms, wearing her own 1895 wedding dress. The next year, 1941, dogwood blooms were so scarce it seemed that the first event would be the last. Newspapers said there was nothing to see, but one tourist couple grieved to find everything cancelled. Mrs. Carlson took pity, showed her own house, and persuaded friends to show theirs. The results were so gratifying that the Garden Club planned future events around historic buildings. In 1948, the Dogwood Trail had tours of four houses, two churches, and the Excelsior House hotel. Excitement ran so high that 171 residents banded together to form the Jefferson Historical Society. The following year, they opened a museum in the Carnegie Library. By 1950, the Dogwood Trail had become a Historical Pilgrimage, featuring eight houses, the Excelsior House, and the Historical Museum. Preservation enthusiast Dan Lester became mayor in 1951 and placed heritage tourism at the forefront of the town's agenda.<sup>14</sup>

Ladies of the Jessie Allen Wise Garden Club brimmed over with ideas in the 1950s and 1960s, and Pilgrimage ticket sales funded ambitious projects. One of these was the restoration of "Atalanta," the private rail car of transportation tycoon Jay Gould. At various times from the 1860s to the 1880s Gould controlled nine major railways, including the Union Pacific, Central Pacific, Missouri Pacific, and Texas and Pacific. The car was sidelined as stationary living quarters for a Gould descendant who was buying mineral rights in East Texas during the oil boom. He left it, and the family of a railroad worker at Overton lived in it for eighteen years, but by 1953 it was once again abandoned. Longview oil man Bill Hill noticed the derelict hulk, was impressed by the remains of its lavish appointments, and told Longview real estate developer and history buff Franklin Martin about it. Word reached Dan and Ruth Lester through their brother-in-law. They bought "Atalanta" for \$1,200 in 1954 and gave it to the Garden Club, of which Ruth became president. Her energy attracted state-level notice, and she was named to the newly formed Texas State Historical Survey Committee in 1954 by Governor Allan Shivers. Publicity drew help for the "Atalanta" from the president of the Texas and Pacific Railroad. By 1955, the Garden Club was showing the car to Pilgrimage visitors using costumed high school girls as guides. Though love-ly, its connection to Jefferson was tenuous at best, until intrepid locals "found" Jay Gould's signature on the guest register of the Excelsior Hotel with a cryptic phrase: the "End of Jefferson." Soon they related legends about Gould swearing, "grass would grow in the streets" of Jefferson because residents had spurned an extortionate offer to put their town on his railroad line. "Atalanta" became a "gotcha" trophy to show that Gould came to nothing, while Jefferson still survived! In 1982, Gould scholar Maury Klein pronounced the signature, the curse, and the whole legend to be a complete hoax, but by that time twenty-seven years' worth of Pilgrimage tickets had been sold

with stories of "the town that wouldn't die." No responsible civic leader would let reality stand in the way of a good yarn.<sup>45</sup>

The restoration of the Excelsior House really proved what Jefferson's community leaders could accomplish. Owners of the hotel, in continuous operation since 1860, provided much of the local color that made Jefferson seem like the Old South. Amelia McNeely, who inherited the building in 1907, kept its nineteenth-century furnishings and often sat on the verandah in old finery surrounded by dozens of caged canaries. Mrs. James Peters of Shreveport bought the hotel in 1928 and operated it until 1961. She introduced a large collection of antiques and the building's distinctive courtyard. There was nothing like the Excelsior elsewhere in East Texas, so when Mrs. Peters' heirs decided to sell the property in 1961, the community feared the loss of a landmark. Preservation became a catalyst for action.<sup>46</sup>

Fearful that the hotel would be demolished, the Garden Club purchased it for \$35,000 in 1961, using mostly borrowed money. The ladies, their spouses, and other volunteers renovated the hotel and its furnishings, bought authentic decorative accents like reproduction wallpapers, and invited the whole town to a linen shower in 1962. Lucille Morgan Terry headed the hotel committee for fourteen years, until profits repaid the loans. Apart from a resident manager, Mrs. Terry and her staff were volunteers. The ladies knew that the Excelsior was central to Jefferson's commercial success. From the beginning, they worked the "celebrity angle" to increase its visibility. For example, they hired the widow of "feel-good" Hollywood screenwriter Barry Benefield to manage the hotel from 1964 to 1979. With Ruth Lester, she invented the Excelsior's far-famed plantation breakfast. Lester and Lucille Terry visited newspaper travel editors' offices dressed in hoopskirts and issued invitations to "come to Jefferson." State-level officials took notice when Governor Price Daniel visited in 1962 to bestow a preservation award. In 1966 First Lady Lady Bird Johnson, who had lived in Jefferson in the 1920s, visited the Excelsior, recommended it to friends, donated a clock to a room named in her honor, and invited Ruth Lester to her first White House "Women Doer's Luncheon." Jefferson became Lady Bird's Southern Heritage counterpart to the LBJ Ranch. At a time when President Johnson desperately hoped to retain the support of white segregationist Democrats, Jefferson's Old South image made a useful backdrop. Ruth Lester died in 1968; the Texas Historical Commission named its award for "best restoration project" in her memory, and the East Texas Historical Association and Texas Forestry Museum later named their preservation award for Lucille Terry.<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile, Jefferson continued to add attractions, like the Jefferson Historical Museum, steamboat and railroad excursions, the Diamond Bessie Murder Trial play, the Junior Historians' musicale and Can-Can, the Krewe of Hebe Mardi Gras Upriver, and a plethora of bed and breakfasts, including the first such hostelry in the state, Ray and Sandy Spalding's Pride House. Preservation in Jefferson shows what can be accomplished when desperation, romanticism, opportunity, leadership, and self-promotion convince a whole

community that the future is the past. Not every town in East Texas should imitate its example, but there are certainly lessons to be learned.<sup>48</sup>

The fifth Preservation Concept, the White Elephant saved via Community Bandwagon, is so commonplace as to need little explanation. Every East Texas town has its defunct church, school, icehouse, post office, library, fire station, or hotel that few want to see razed, but no one can figure out what to do with. Most White Elephant preservation efforts reveal a story of teamwork and leadership from a core group who try to rouse support from a listless periphery of bystanders.

Since East Texas cities largely sprang from railroads, depots are frequently the objects of White Elephant rescue efforts. Marshall's Texas and Pacific Railroad Depot (1912) is an excellent example. It was abandoned in the 1970s and faced demolition until Mayor Audrey Kariel intervened. A restoration group called Marshall Depot, Inc., began fundraising and restoration, but the cost exceeded \$3 million before the structure was even furnished or landscaped. In justifying the price, the Chamber of Commerce pointed with pride to the fact that the Texas and Pacific Railroad Company formerly occupied more than fifty buildings in Marshall and employed a third of the town. While the depot was saved—in fact, it received the Lucille Terry Prize in 2000—Marshall also recruited new businesses to a city that once seemed stranded in unemployment and decay. Indifference to the opportunities of the working poor, and painting over the causes of poverty with fresh paint and grant money, are oftentimes the less admirable features of the preservation mindset.<sup>49</sup>

White Elephants are not always restored with grant money. Individuals sometimes pay restoration costs themselves. Since Concept Six, *If Walls Could Talk*, typically refers to homes restored by their own residents, perhaps the term Private White Elephant can indicate a privately funded commercial or public restoration. Some can be quite interesting. For example, the Judge J.W. Fitzgerald House in Tyler (1898) became office space in a meticulous restoration by Robert and Rebecca Wangner. After buying the house in 1999 and sorting through its contents for five months, they kept the original owners' mementoes, hired a researcher who produced a book about the family, made a video of the restoration, and appeared in a segment of *If Walls Could Talk*. Historic Tyler's offices are now in the building, along with other commercial spaces. Tylerite John O'Sullivan and his family took a 1920 downtown parking garage and turned it into nine sleek luxury apartments. There are many old commercial spaces in East Texas that would make great loft residences, and big old houses that could be commercial spaces. The most spectacular Private White Elephant in East Texas may be the Perot Theatre in Texarkana. Built in 1924 as a luxury movie house and stage theater, it was sold to Paramount in 1931, showed first-run movies until the 1960s, and then deteriorated to seedy, bargain-cinema status. The city of Texarkana bought it for \$19,000 in 1977 to keep it from being demolished. Texarkana native H. Ross Perot and his sister Bette contributed \$800,000 to its restoration as a tribute to their parents. Glamorously returned to Great-Gatsby poshness, it now hosts a multitude of community events.<sup>50</sup>

Having pondered the state of historical preservation in East Texas for several months, I want to share a few opinions. With some exceptions, it seems to me that the emphasis on historical tourism is now overdone, and that preservation should be viewed as meaningful for the home community rather than for potential visitors. This might cripple the preservationists' ability to sell projects to the business community, but realistically, few people would walk across the street to see what East Texas has to offer, much less drive from Kalamazoo. There is nothing remarkable about "our" depot. It is very much like those in every other town in America. We need to learn to enjoy our own relics, rather than trying to peddle them to others. There are only so many heritage destinations that a fairly dull region of the country can support.

What should we really be working on? We need to create more excitement about our past and pay more attention to the community leaders who are saving it. The Courthouse Preservation Program is a great step, but much more could be done. For example, the marking of historic roads like *El Camino Real*, Trammels' Trace, and the Shreveport-Dallas Stagecoach Road would bring the average East Texan a greater awareness of local history. Missions and forts could be reconstructed as religious shrines or recreational sites. Coffee table books showing vanished landmarks could be compiled. If they were, contractors, architects, and patrons might build replicas as private homes and offices. For example, nearly every county knows what its antebellum courthouse looked like. Why not convince our county commissioners to build a replica as an active county building? Nearly every county is building annexes and sub-courthouses. In this way, the new building would evoke the county's past. Some organization might even have a book of plans for sale that features traditional building types from our area—dog trots, raised cottages, Carolina I-houses, center-hall plantation homes, commercial buildings, etc. Then, our area's new construction could express regional heritage the way it does in Louisiana. Many of their builders specialize in historical styles, and the results are charming.

The Center for East Texas Studies website created by Dr. Jere Jackson is potentially valuable. Its use to publicize the plight of Zion Hill Baptist Church in Nacogdoches is just what the Internet is good for—disseminating information to a wide audience. Buildings related to twentieth-century history are usually ignored, so an inventory of significant sites would be helpful. In some ways it is already too late. For instance, a participant at the 2004 Spring meeting of the East Texas Historical Association in San Augustine told about the Shamrock Hotel in Houston. This fabulous structure, built by oilman Glenn McCarthy, "King of the Wildcatters," inspired portions of the movie *Giant*! Its outdoor pool, the largest in the world, could host exhibition waterskiing. The hotel stood eighteen stories high, had a parking garage for 1,500 cars, sported luxurious decorations in sixty-three shades of green, and was smashed in 1987 to make room for a parking lot. Someday we will wonder where all the oil boom landmarks went. Carnegie Libraries, Rosenwald Schools, CCC projects, World War II sites, WPA murals, as well as sites related to railroads, business history, manufacturing, former governors, and the Civil Rights move-



ment, are worthy of note. Country church buildings are another at-risk category. Almost nothing is more rare, it seems, than the old single-gabled church house with its centered doors and clean lines. However, the most at-risk structures at present seem to be Victorian houses. A sobering reminder comes from the 1964 "Old Homes Issue" of the *Chronicles of Smith County*. Many of the featured houses have burned, been demolished, or lapsed into complete disrepair, including some Medallion homes. East Texas cities need to stop ignoring the older parts of town and reaffirm their protection. It would help if urban pioneers had access to magnet schools or educational alternatives that would not penalize the children of preservationists for living in low-income school districts.<sup>51</sup>

Another problem is the ingrained independence of our people. East Texans are territorial, do not cooperate on a regional level, and seldom look past the boundaries of their own neighborhoods. For example, Tyler barely admits Longview's existence, and neither gives a fig for Kilgore. But North and South Tyler do not mix either, nor do North and South Longview. An analysis of racial attitudes is beyond the scope of this article, but it often dooms buildings in the "wrong areas" to demolition by neglect. A second result of hyper-localism is poor communication and duplication of effort. In a few confined pockets of affluence, historic preservation receives community support. Historic Tyler, Inc., for instance, under director Janie Chilcote Edmonds, brings visibility and cachet to the cause of preservation. It hosts elegant parties and a homes tour, pursues grants and historical district nominations, and serves as a clearinghouse for information about preservation resources. She and the others in the group might like to see more kinds of community involvement, but the community at large exhibits little interest in some parts of town, no matter how old the buildings. The group focuses on the beautification of South Tyler's Azalea District and adjacent neighborhoods. Most members could hardly imagine wanting to save something north of Front Street or west of Vine, much less a building in an outlying town like Troup or Winona or in one of the county's rural areas.

Little has been said in this article about Galveston. Galvestonians live on The Coast, not in what most people consider East Texas proper. However, its buildings sometimes receive Terry Awards, and the Galveston Historical Foundation has some intriguing programs. For one thing, it has a large membership base and an active role in the promotion of the city's major industry, tourism. The Foundation derives from a historical society founded in 1871. It has 5,100 members in thirty-eight states, and operates nine museums or historic properties. Foundation achievements include the redevelopment of the Strand, the rescue of the ship *Elissa*, and a broad range of educational programs. Docents lead tours of historic neighborhoods, the ship, and the harbor for school groups to promote historical awareness among local youths. Films describing the Great Storm of 1900 and the pirate Jean Lafitte play every thirty minutes at the Pier 21 Theater. Visitors can take guided cemetery tours, bus tours, and house tours. The Foundation advertises historic real estate, owns properties that it rents or resells, and even aids with financing. Homeowners can enroll in tuition-based demonstration classes to learn how to repair old

buildings. The Foundation maintains a Preservation Resource Center for research and a Salvage Warehouse of vintage and new low-cost building materials. The most innovative project is a tri-level Paint Program. Paint Partnership furnishes free paint and supplies to qualifying low-to-moderate-income homeowners who do their own labor. Paint Plus supplies low-interest loans for labor or structural repairs related to the painting. Paint Pals recruits volunteers to paint the single-story homes of qualifying elderly or disabled homeowners. Every member of the Foundation gets a twenty percent discount at Sherwin-Williams on regular-priced paint. The painting of run-down neighborhoods immediately makes people take more pride in their homes, raises the value of properties, and contributes to an overall feeling of safety. In Galveston there truly are imaginative and compassionate ideas at work. Perhaps other cities of East Texas could imitate some aspects of these activities. East Texas is a nice place; its residents should not settle for placelessness.<sup>62</sup>

### NOTES

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<sup>2</sup>Ingolff Vogeler, "Comments on Settlement and Human Geography," course files, The University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire; Paul Fussell, *Class: A Guide Through the American Status System* (New York, 1983), pp. 40-73, 76-95. For a discussion of elitism and historic preservation, see William A. Henry III, *In Defense of Elitism* (New York, 1995). See also John Brooks, *Showing Off in America: From Conspicuous Consumption to Parody Display* (New York, 1981) and Russell Lynes, *The Tastemakers: The Shaping of American Popular Taste* (New York, 1954).

<sup>3</sup>James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York, 1994); *Home from Nowhere: Remaking Our Everyday World for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (New York, 1998); John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time* (New Haven, 1996); *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven, 1986).

<sup>4</sup>Preservation Resource Center of New Orleans, *Preservation in Print* 25 (December 1998), p. 15; "What Price Preservation?: Financial Incentives for Saving Old Buildings," *Texas Architect* 32 (January-February 1982), pp. 60-61.

"The pioneering television series was Bob Vila's *This Old House* on PBS. Originally a "how-to" on carpentry and basic repairs, it only incidentally endorsed historic preservation. Current cable television shows—*If Walls Could Talk* and *Restore America*—place more emphasis on preservation and authentic restoration.

<sup>16</sup>*Mount Vernon: An Illustrated Handbook* (Mount Vernon, 1974), p. 9. On early efforts, see Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in America before Williamsburg* (New York, 1965) and Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., *The Living Past of America: A pictorial treasury of our historic houses and villages that have been preserved and restored* (New York, 1955).

<sup>17</sup>*The Hermitage: A History and Guide* (Hermitage, Tennessee, 1967), pp. 16-18, 65-71.

<sup>18</sup>Ron Tyler, ed., *The New Handbook of Texas* (Austin, 1996), Vol. I, pp. 82-83, 359-360; II, pp. 439, 517-518; V, pp. 159, 856; Willard B. Robinson and Todd Webb, *Texas Public Buildings of the Nineteenth Century* (Austin, 1974), pp. 34-35.

<sup>19</sup>Bob Bowman, *The East Texas Sunday Drive Book* (Lufkin, 1990); *Texas State Travel Guide* (Austin, 2002), p. 87; Henderson County Historical Commission, *Old Homes of Henderson County* (Crockett, 1982), pp. 187-188; Ann Ruff and Henri Farmer, *Historic Homes of Texas: Across the Thresholds of Yesterday* (Houston, 1987), p. 3.

<sup>20</sup>Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 848-849; II, p.132; III, pp. 554-555, 651-653, 757; IV, pp. 895-896; V, pp. 611-612, 715-716; VI, pp. 485-486, 1058; Carol Morris Little, *Historic Harrison County: As Preserved through Official Texas Historical Markers* (Longview, 1984), p. 192; Interview by the author with Janie Chilcote Edmonds, Tyler, Texas March 27, 2004; Ruff and Farmer, *Historic Homes of Texas*, pp. 49-50, 58-59.

<sup>21</sup>Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 926-927; II, pp. 232, 435-436; III, pp. 637-640, 935; V, pp. 1031-1032; VI, pp. 91-92; Joe Tom Davis, *Historic Towns of Texas. Vol. II: Gonzales, Columbus, Jefferson* (Austin, 1996), pp. 195-196: <http://www.boysandgirlsharbor.org/>.

<sup>22</sup>Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas*, vol. II, pp. 504-505; Writers' Program, Work Projects Administration, *Texas: A Guide to the Lone Star State* (New York, 1940), pp. 418, 568-569; Carl L. Avera, *Wind Swept Land* (San Antonio, 1964).

<sup>23</sup>John H. Reagan vertical file, Palestine Public Library, Palestine, Texas. Mike Whitworth, comp., *Heritage: A Pictorial History of Palestine and Anderson County, Texas, 1852-1992* (Marceline, Missouri, 1992), pp. 23, 53.

<sup>24</sup>Archie P. McDonald, ed., *Hurrah for Texas! The Diary of Adolphus Sterne, 1838-1851* (Waco, 1969); Joe Tom Davis, *Historic Towns of Texas. Vol. III: Nacogdoches, Goliad, San Felipe* (Austin, 2001), pp. 28-29, 35, 38-39, 50-51, 54-55, 61; <http://www.easttexahistorical.org/programs/terry.html/>.

<sup>25</sup>Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington, D.C., 1973); Horace M. Albright, *Origins of National Park Service Administration of Historic Sites* (Philadelphia, 1971); Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Champagne, Illinois, 1991); John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, 1992); Ary J. Lamme III, *America's Historic Landscapes: Community Power and the Preservation of Four National Historic Sites* (Knoxville, 1989); Joan M. Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1998); Robert Webb, "Storm over Manassas: A Plan to Develop Part of Virginia's Famed Civil War Battlefield is Provoking the Greatest Preservation Battle in Years," *Historic Preservation* 40 (July/August 1988), pp. 40-45; Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, *Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields* (Washington, D.C., 1993); William J. Drummond, "A GIS-Based Model for Battlefield Preservation Planning," National Park Service, "American Battlefield Protection Program." Georgie Boge & Margie Holder Boge, *Paving Over the Past: A History and Guide to Civil War Battlefield Preservation* (Washington, D.C., 1993); Frances H. Kennedy and Douglas R. Porter, *Dollar\$ and Sense of Battlefield Preservation: The Economic Benefits of Protecting Civil War Battlefields* (Washington, D.C., 1994).

<sup>16</sup>*Texas State Travel Guide*, pp. 50, 180; *Cherokee County History* (Jacksonville, Texas, 1986), pp. 6-7; Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas*, Vol. III, pp. 1095-1096; <http://www.austin-civilwar.org/>.

<sup>17</sup>Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas*, Vol. IV, pp. 1060-1062, 1066, 1070-1072; V, pp. 333, 791, 846-848, 861, 870; Rex E. Gerald, *Spanish Presidios of the Late Eighteenth Century in Northern New Spain* (Santa Fe, 1968); Donald Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1511-1821* (Austin, 1992); Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture* (Austin, 1978), p. 188; Curtis D. Tunnell and J. Richard Ambler, *Archeological Excavations at Presidio San Agustin de Ahumada* (Austin, 1967); Charles W. Hackett, "The Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo and His Recovery of Texas from the French, 1719-1723," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 49 (October 1945); Robert Bruce Blake, "Location of the Spanish Missions and Presidios in Nacogdoches County," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 41 (January 1938), pp. 212-224. For an appreciation of San Augustine architect Raiford Stripling to the cause of mission and fort preservation, see Michael McCullar, *Restoring Texas: Raiford Stripling's Life and Architecture* (College Station, 1985), pp. 70-89.

<sup>18</sup>Archie P. McDonald, *The Old Stone Fort* (Austin, 1981); *Texas: A Guide* (1940), p. 409. Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas*, IV, pp. 1140-1141; V, p. 791; Blake, "Location of the Spanish Missions and Presidios in Nacogdoches County," pp. 212-224.

<sup>19</sup>*Texas: A Guide* (1940), pp. 390, 417, 574; *Texas State Travel Guide* 2002, p. 87, p. 130; Jordan, *Texas Log Buildings*, pp. 158-160; Robinson and Webb, *Texas Public Buildings of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 39-51.

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<sup>21</sup>Kenneth R. Durham, *LeTourneau University's First Fifty Years* (Virginia Beach, 1995), pp. 18-22, 36, 43, 47, 49, 58, 67-69, 86, 88-90; Richard E. Osborne, *World War II Sites in the United States: A Tour Guide & Directory* (Indianapolis, 1996), p. 247; <http://www.easttexashistorical.org/programs/terry.html>.

<sup>22</sup>Gordon J. Neilson, *Camp Fannin, Texas: A 50 Year Perspective* (Tyler, 1993); Osborne, *World War II Sites in the United States*, pp. 234-253; Linda Brown Cross and Robert W. Glover, *A History of Tyler Junior College, 1926-1986* (Tyler, 1985), p. 24; Durham, *Le Tourneau University's First Fifty Years*, p. 68.

<sup>23</sup>June Rayfield Welch and J. Larry Nance, *The Texas Courthouse* (Dallas, 1971), pp. 4-11.

<sup>24</sup>Welch and Nance, *The Texas Courthouse*, pp. 4-11; Robinson and Webb, *Texas Public Buildings of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 194-205.

<sup>25</sup>Welch and Nance, *The Texas Courthouse*, pp. 275-324; Robinson and Webb, *Texas Public Buildings of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 25-30; Jay C. Henry, *Architecture in Texas, 1895-1945* (Austin, 1993), p. 15; Robinson, *Gone from Texas*, p. 231.

<sup>26</sup>Interviews by the author with Cletis M. Millsap, Mary Bonham, and Bobby McDonald, Sulphur Springs, Texas, March 8, 2004; <http://www.thc.state.tx.us/courthouse/chreded.html>.

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<sup>29</sup>Peter Collier and David Horowitz, *The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty* (New York, 1976), pp. 144-46; *The Official Guidebook of Colonial Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1951), pp. 15-17; Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., *The Living Past of America: A Pictorial Treasury of our Historic Houses and Villages that have been Preserved and Restored* (New York, 1955), pp. 157-61; Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, 2 vols (Charlottesville, 1981).

<sup>30</sup>Davis, *Historic Towns of Texas*, Vol. III, pp. 83-86; Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 872; III, pp. 651-653; VI, p. 462; Ruff and Farmer, *Historic Homes of Texas*, pp. 26-27; Virginia Bernhard, *Ima Hogg: The Governor's Daughter* (Austin, 1984), pp. 93-132.

<sup>31</sup><http://www.heritage-village.org>

<sup>32</sup><http://www.heritage-village.org>

<sup>33</sup>Jordan, *Texas Log Buildings*, p. 10; *Texas State Travel Guide*, pp. 83, 107, 116, 132, 202; Ruff and Farmer, *Historic Homes of Texas*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>34</sup>Carolina Castillo Crimm, *Cabin Fever: The Roberts-Farris Cabin: A Campus, A Cabin, A Community* (College Station, 2002); Jordan, *Texas Log Buildings*, p. 9; McCullar, *Restoring Texas*, pp. 116-118; Jonathan Fricker, "Humble Dwellings and Real History: In the Not-so-good old days," *Preservation in Print* (April 2002), pp. 8-9; Little, *Historic Harrison County*, pp. 94-96; Terry G. Jordan, *Log Cabin Village: A History and Guide* (Austin, 1980), pp. vii-x, 99-103; *Cherokee County History*, pp. 160-161; Ruff and Farmer, pp. 6-9; Kathryn T. Carter, *Stagecoach Inns of Texas* (Waco, 1972), pp. 84-86, 91-94.

<sup>35</sup>*Texas: A Guide* (1940), p. 407; Kate Hunter papers, vertical file, Palestine Public Library.

<sup>36</sup>Edward W. Plummer, *Historic Marshall Revisited* (Marshall, Texas, 1988); Little, *Historic Harrison County*, pp. 21-27, 100-108, 135-142, 152-160, 178-186; Jeffrey Owens, "Romance and Reality: Plantation Naming in the Old Southwest," paper delivered to the Gregg County Historical Association, Longview, Texas, October 22, 1997.

<sup>37</sup>Anne Clark, comp., *Historic Homes of San Augustine* (Austin, n.d.), pp. 40-41; Dorman H. Winfrey, *Julien Sidney Devereux and his Monte Verdi Plantation* (Waco, 1962), pp. 138-140. Clark's book also provides a good overview of the country houses of San Augustine County.

<sup>38</sup>Susan Hageman, "Gertrude Windsor: Tyler Woman's Compassion, Initiative. Guide Lifetime of Community Service," *Tyler Courier-Times-Telegraph*, May 1, 1988; Gertrude Buckley Windsor, vertical file, Smith County Historical Society Archive, Tyler, Texas; Mrs. J.M. DeWare, III, "The Freeman Family," *Marion County, Texas, 1840-1900* (Jefferson, Texas, 1981), p. 27; Davis, *Historic Towns of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 180; Ruff and Farmer, *Historic Homes of Texas*, pp. 19-20; "Old Homes Issue," *Chronicles of Smith County* 3 (Spring 1964); Mike Elswick, "Pecan harvesting at Kay Plantation an ET tradition," *Longview News-Journal*, November 25, 1984; Drury B. Alexander and Todd Webb, *Texas Homes of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (Austin, 1966), pp. 36, 123, 237, 247; Author's interviews with Julius A. Bergfeld at "Myrtle Vale," Tyler, and San Augustine, Texas, February 21, 2004.

<sup>39</sup>McCullar, *Restoring Texas*, pp. 118-128; Author's interview with John & Betty Oglesbee, San Augustine, Texas, February 21, 2004; Margaret Swett Henson and Deolece Parmelee, *The Cartwrights of San Augustine* (Austin, 1993), pp. 158-162; Nancy M. Land, ed., *Old Homes of Houston County* (Crockett, Texas, 1983), pp. 110-111.

<sup>40</sup><http://www.easttexashistorical.org/programs/terry.html/>; Judith W. Linsley, "W.P.H. McFaddin, Cattle Baron," paper delivered to East Texas Historical Association, San Augustine, Texas, February 20, 2004; *History of Houston County*, p. 62; *Texas State Travel Guide*, pp. 158-159, 166, 172, 180, 208; Alexander and Webb, *Texas Homes of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, pp. 188-189, 256-257; Fred Tarpley, *Jefferson: Riverport to the Southwest* (Austin, 1983), p. 358; Henry, *Architecture in Texas*, p. 245; Ruff and Farmer, *Historic Homes of Texas*, pp. 4-5, 23-26, 40-41, 55-57.

<sup>46</sup>Nola Nance Oliver, *Natchez: Symbol of the Old South* (New York, 1940), foreword; Harnett T. Kane, *Natchez on the Mississippi* (New York, 1947), pp. 334-348.

<sup>47</sup>Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas*, Vol. III, pp. 924-925; VI, p. 546; Tarpley, *Jefferson*, pp. 39-50, 89-90, 94-95, 255; Davis, *Historic Towns of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 174-180, 183-186, 190-197, 201; Jacques D. Bagur, *A History of Navigation on Cypress Bayou and the Lakes* (Denton, 2001), pp. 104-148, 444, 566, 573-577, 585, 600, 616-636, 647.

<sup>48</sup>Davis, *Historic Towns of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 193, 203-207; Tarpley, *Jefferson*, pp. 188-192, 194-197, 204-210, 222-225.

<sup>49</sup>Tarpley, *Jefferson*, pp. 248-249, 259-264, 273-284, 340; Ruff and Farmer, *Historic Homes of Texas*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>50</sup>Tarpley, *Jefferson*, pp. 150-176, 283-289, 364; Author's interview with Bill and Dorothy Hill, Longview, Texas, March 7, 2004.

<sup>51</sup>Davis, *Historic Towns of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 212-215; Tarpley, *Jefferson*, pp. 289-301.

<sup>52</sup>Davis, *Historic Towns of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 212-221; Tarpley, *Jefferson*, pp. 232-236, 294-301, 315-317, 332-336.

<sup>53</sup>Tarpley, *Jefferson*, pp. 317-323, 336-338, 342-352, 362-363; Renee Kientz, "Bed-and-breakfasts make for home away from home," *Houston Chronicle*, April 25, 1999, <http://www.chron.com/cs/CDA/evergreen.its/travel/tx/piney/237274>;

<sup>54</sup><http://www.easttexashistorical.org/programs/terry.html/>; <http://www.cets.sfasu.edu/Harrison/t&p.htm>.

<sup>55</sup>Kim Groff, *The Fitzgerald House: 815 South Broadway, Tyler, Texas* (Tyler, 2002); *If Walls Could Talk*, House & Garden Television, Episode WCT-1007, November 16, 2003; Brochure, The Cranford Auto Hotel Loft. Historic Tyler on Tour, 27-28 March 2004; <http://www.trahc.org/perot.htm/>.

<sup>56</sup><http://www.cets.sfasu.edu/>; Ruff and Farmer, *Historic Homes of Texas*, pp. 18-29; Kyle Williams, "Why All the Fuss?: Glenn McCarthy and the Opening of Houston's Shamrock Hotel," paper delivered to the East Texas Historical Association, San Augustine, February 21, 2004; *Chronicles of Smith County* 3 (Spring 1964).

<sup>57</sup><http://www.galvestonhistory.org/>. The Preservation Resource Center of New Orleans publishes a magnificent magazine called *Preservation in Print* that gives much information about preservation issues in Louisiana, the nation, and around the world. It is well worth the price of a membership.